

The Classical Islamic Law of Waqf: A Concise Introduction

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to provide a concise and brief introduction to the classical Islamic law of waqf. This study is based on the Fiqh literature of four Sunni schools of thought. The primary focus is on the Ḥanafi Fiqh, however, representative texts of the other schools have also been taken into account. There are three major findings in this article. First, the law contained in Fiqh texts is incomplete because it does not encompass 'urf' (custom) and qānūn (imperial decrees). Custom is recognised in these texts in support of Fiqh, but qānūn is totally missing despite references to the power of rulers regarding certain provisions of waqf law. Second, the legal theory is inconsistent, as the majority of jurists hold that the ownership of a founder terminates with the creation of a waqf. However, not only the founder and his legal heirs maintain a limited proprietary interest in waqf property; the waqf also dissolves with the apostasy of its founder. Third, family awqaf (pl. of waqf) come into direct conflict with the law of inheritance and the law of gifts. However, the testamentary waqf and waqf during terminal illness are subservient to inheritance law, and jurists have tried to harmonise waqf law with inheritance law whenever an opportunity arose.

Keywords

Figh, waqf; custom; imperial decrees; inheritance law

1. Introduction

Waqf (pl. awqāf) is described as the most important institution, which provided the foundation for Islamic civilization, as it was interwoven with the entire religious life and the social economy of Muslims. From mosques,

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¹ P.G. Hennigan, The Birth of a Legal Institution: The Formation of the Waqf in Third-Century A.H. Hanafi Legal Discourse (Leiden: Brill, 2004) xiii; S.A. Ali, Mahommedan Law (Lahore: Law Publishing Company, 1976 (first published 1892)) 192-193. Colin Imber

schools and hospitals to markets and inns, most of the public sector was financed through awqāf. The waqf provided the only permanent organisational form under Islamic law which did not explicitly have the concept of impersonal juristic personality. Therefore, the waqf was the most suitable legal form for financing long-lasting services. Small wonder if the entire sector of public services in the Muslim world was managed through awqāf before the advent of the modern state in the twentieth century. Interestingly, the waqf was not limited to the provision of public services. A large number of waqf properties were reserved in favour of the founders and their family members, generation after generation. However, even in such private awqāf, the ultimate beneficiaries were the poor of society or public services. Therefore, the waqf as an institution encompasses both private and public functions.

The scale of the involvement of the waqf in Muslim societies was enormous. Between one-half and two-thirds of the landed property in the Ottoman Empire was held by awqāf in the early twentieth century. At the same time, one-half of the land in Algeria and one-third in Tunisia was made waqf. A similar percentage of real estate was also vested in awqāf in Egypt. 5 The reason for this enormous proliferation of awqāf is said to be

goes to the extent of stating that without public awqāf, Islam and Islamic society could have neither functioned nor survived. C. Imber, Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997) pp. 141-142.

² Similar institutions existed before the advent of Islam amongst the Byzantines in the form of piae causae; Romans in the form of res sacrae and fidei commissum; Jews in the form of headesh; Persians in the form of pat ruvan or ruvānagān; and Arabs in the form of haram and himā. For an interesting discussion on the origins of waaf and the impact of these institutions on it, see P.G. Hennigan, supra note 1, pp. 50-70. See also Randi Carolyn Deguilhem-Schoem, History of Waaf and Case Studies from Damascus in Late Ottoman and French Mandatory Times, PhD thesis, New York University (1986) pp. 49-70.

³ G. Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981) p. 40; T. Kuran, "The Provision of Public Goods under Islamic Law: Origins, Impact, and Limitations of the Waaf System", Law & Society Review 35 (2001) 841, 842.

⁴ It is not possible to translate the term 'waaf' with a single English word because it conveys a myriad of meanings. Sometimes a waaf is translated as a 'charitable trust', which has a public dimension and at other times it is translated as an 'endowment', which resembles a 'will' or 'settlement' that has a private dimension. G.C. Kozlowski, Muslim Endowments and Society in British India (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) pp. 1-2.

D.S. Powers, "Orientalism, Colonialism, and Legal History: The Attack on Muslim Family Endowments in Algeria and India", (1989) 31 Comparative Studies in Society and History 535, 537-538. Heffening mentions slightly different figures. In the former Turkish

the precarious protection of property rights in Muslim societies. Firstly, the state was the legal owner of most of the land. Secondly, confiscation was a state policy to the extent that historians specifically mentioned the rulers who did not confiscate properties. In these circumstances, the waqf provided a mechanism for the preservation of property for family members. By making a waqf of his property in favour of his family or some public cause the founder divested himself of the legal ownership. As the waqf was legally a charitable institution, rulers could not lay their hands on it without invoking public anger.

This study intends to provide a brief description of Islamic law of waqf derived from the classical Fiqh literature. The primary focus is on the Hanafi School but comparison is also made with other schools where necessary. The Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya (also known as Fatāwā al-Hindiyya)⁸ and the Hidāya provide the primary source for this study. The former was compiled upon the order of Emperor Aurangzeb ʿĀlamgīr and the latter was written by a famous Hanafī jurist Marghīnānī. Other classical texts of

empire three quarters of the whole arable land; towards the end of ninteenth century half of Algiers; in 1883 one-third in Tunis and in 1927 in Egypt one-eighth of the cultivated soil comprised waaf. W. Heffening, "Wakf", Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edn. (1934) 1100.

Makdisi, supra note 3, 40; B. Johansen, The Islamic Law on Land and Tax Rent: The Peasant's Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluke and Ottoman Periods (New York: Croom Helm Ltd., 1988).

⁷ M. Gil, "The Earliest Waqf Foundations", Journal of Near Eastern Studies 57 (1998) 125, 128. The charitable (sadaqa) element of waqf conferred sanctity upon the waqf property. It was the sanctity attached to the waqf property, which protected it from either outright confiscation or heavy taxation. This understanding is endorsed by the synonymous expressions of waqf which are found in classical texts such as sadaqa mawqūfa (reserved charity), sadaqa jāriya (unceasing charity) and sadaqa muḥarrama (sacred charity) and the traditions of the Prophet that sanctify the sadaqa. Moreover, the majority of jurists regard waqf property as the property of God reserved for the benefit of the poor.

[&]quot; The Fatāwā al-'Alamgīriyya, as the name shows, was not a compilation of Fatāwā (juristic opinions), rather it was a compilation of the opinions of various Ḥanafi scholars extracted from Figh books. J. Schacht, "On the Title of the Fatāwā al-'Alamgīriyya", in: C. Bosworth (ed.) Iran and Islam (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971) p. 475.

⁹ The Hidāya is one of the most popular books of the Ḥanafi law, which was widely commented upon. Four famous commentaries include Al-Nihāya by Al-Sighnaki (written in 7th/13th); Al-Ināya by Al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384); Al-Wiqāya by Maḥmūd ibn Ṣadr al-Sharī a (7th/13th); and Al-Kifāya by Al-Kūrlānī (8th/14th). These commentaries were further commented upon by later jurists. The Hidāya itself is a shorter commentary on Marghīnāni's own book, Bidāyat al-Mubtadī that is based on Al-Qudūri's Mukhtaṣar and Al-Shaybāni's Al-Jāmi' al-jaghīr. The Kifāyat al-Muntahā is a large commentary in eight

Sunnī Schools and treatises of later scholars have also been consulted for this study.

2. Fundamentals of the Classical Islamic Law of Waqf

Literally, waaf means detention and it stems from the Arabic root verb 'waqafa', which means 'to stop' or 'to hold'. 10 Under Islamic law, it refers to an institutional arrangement whereby the founder endows his property in favour of some particular persons or objects. Such property is perpetually reserved for the stated objectives and cannot be alienated by inheritance, sale, gift or otherwise. In the organisational structure of a waqf, there are three major parties. The founder is called the waqif, who creates a waaf either by writing or pronouncing his intention to make a waaf of his property in favour of the beneficiary or beneficiaries, called mawquf 'alayh, who, according to some jurists must be capable of owning property. A waqf can also be created for a specific purpose, e.g., promotion of religious education or the welfare of the needy and the poor. The third party is the administrator, called the mutawalli, who administers the waaf according to the conditions laid down by the founder. The qāḍī performs the duty of supervision over the waaf by keeping a check on the administrator. A specialised government department (dīwān) to govern public awqāf is also found as early as the Umayyad dynasty (661-750 AD).

The institution of waaf is not mentioned in the Qur'an, which is considered the primary source of Shari'a. However, the general verses that emphasise charity are taken to be the legal authority from the Qur'an for the validity of the waaf. There are traditions of the Prophet and his Companions who established the waaf as sadaqa (charity). Although such traditions provided the basis for waaf law, the detailed law was developed by jurists on the basis of secondary sources of Islamic law such as qiyas (analogy), ijma' (consensus), istihsan (juristic preferences), istishab (continuity)

volumes. W. Heffening, "Al-Marghīnānī", Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn. (2011) http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-0685 (accessed 10 May 2011).

Al-Fayyūmī, Al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1977); H. Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (New York: Spoken Languages Services, Inc., 1976).

The derivatives of the word 'waqf' have been used in the Qur'an in these verses: Al-An'am: 27; 30; Sabā: 31: Al-Ṣāffār: 24.

See, e.g., Al-'Imrān: 92 and Al-Bagara: 177, 215, 267.

and 'urf (custom)¹³ and reflects the socio-political developments of the time. The principle of istiṣlāḥ (public good) was also applied in the later periods in order to legalise new practices such as cash awaāf.¹⁴

Muslim jurists dealt with the law of waqf at length in their corpuses of Fiqh and every compendium of Islamic law of all major schools contains a separate chapter on the law of waqf or habs (as it is known in the Mālikī and Shāfi'ī Schools). Separate treatises on waqf law are also found as early as the ninth century (third century AH).¹⁵

2.1. Definition of Waqf and the Ownership of Waqf Property

Waaf or taḥbīs or tasbīl conveys the meaning of detention from disposal. These three are the sarīḥ (explicit) words for the waaf. Ṣadaqa, taḥrīm and tā'bīd are the implicit expressions for it. Ṣadaqa is also used for zakāt and hibāt (pl. of hiba means gift); taḥrīm and tā'bīd are also used for other things such as zihār¹6 and āymān (oaths) and are not exclusive for the waaf. Therefore, in order to imply a waaf by the use of the last three expressions, they must be accompanied with other words, like ṣadaqa mawqūfa, ṣadaqa maḥbūsa, ṣadaqa muḥarrama or ṣadaqa mū'bbada.¹7

W. Al-Zuḥayli, Al-Fiqh al-Islāmi wa Adillatuhu (11 vols., Dār al-Fikr, 2004) vol. 10, 7603; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad Al-Zarqā, Aḥkām al-Awqāf (2nd edn., Dār 'Amār, 2010) 19-20.

¹⁴ Imber, supra note 1, 143-146; J.E. Mandaville, "Usurious Piety: The Cash Waqf Controversy in the Ottoman Empire", International Journal of Middle East Studies 10 (1979) 289.

¹⁵ Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Khaṣṣāf, Kitāb Aḥkām al-Awqāf (Maktabat al-Thaqāfat al-Dīniyya, 1904); Hilāl al-Ra'y, Kitāb Aḥkām al-Waaf (Maṭb'āt Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1937). Legal technique of waaf was used by 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭab to hold land by the state for the benefit of the community. P.G. Forand, "The Status of the Land and Inhabitants of the Sawad during the First Two Centuries of Islam", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 14 (1971) 25.

¹⁶ Pre-Islamic form of divorce, consisting in the words of repudiation: "you are to me like my mother's back". Wehr, supra note 10.

¹⁷ Ibn Qudāma, Al-Mughnī ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Muḥsin Turkī and 'Abd al-Fartāḥ Muḥammad Ḥulw (eds.), 15 vols., Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1999) vol. 8, 189. Both Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya and commentary of Hidāya, Sharaḥ Fataḥ al-Qadīr discuss various expressions for making a waqf. Both state that the custom and practice is to be taken into account in order to determine whether the donor meant creation of a waqf or a donation for charity in case certain expressions are used which do not explicitly create a waqf. Al-Shaykh Nizām, Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya (4 vols., Nawal Kishawr, 1865) vol. 2, 962; Ibn al-Humām, Sharḥ Fath al-Qadīr 'alā al-Hidāya ('Abd al-Razzāq Ghālib Mahdī (ed.), 10 vols, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2003) vol. 6, 188.

Jurists agree that in a waqf the substance of property is reserved while its usufruct is spent for specific purposes. However, there is a difference of opinion with respect to the ownership of the reserved property and its usufruct. According to Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik, the founder continues to own the property and can also revoke the waqf at any time. They then differ as to the nature of the founder's interest. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the waqf is the detention of a specific thing in the ownership of the founder while its profit and usufruct is devoted for a charitable purpose. He regards the waqf as revocable, analogous to 'āriya¹8' and it becomes irrevocable only by the order of the court or death of the founder.¹¹ Mālik agrees with Abū Ḥanīfa to the extent that the waqf does not signify the extinction of ownership in the substance of property by the founder, however, he holds that the waqf extinguishes the founder's right of usufruct for a limited period of time. According to him perpetuity is not a mandatory condition for a valid waqf. Thus only the Mālikī School allows a temporary waqf.²0

The majority of jurists, which includes Shāfi'ī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and two disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, hold that a waaf signifies the extinction of the ownership of the founder in the dedicated assets, which are detained in the implied ownership of God and their profits are applied for the benefit of mankind. The ownership of the founder extinguishes and the waaf property cannot be sold, gifted or inherited by either him or the beneficiaries. Thus the substance of the waaf property ceases to be a subject of private property. The beneficiaries are ipso facto proprietors of the usufruct of property.

¹⁸ 'Āriya is a temporary borrowing for a limited time where the possession of the thing is given for use only while the ownership is retained by the original owner. Al-Qudūrī, Mukhtaşar al-Qudūrī (Shaykh Kāmil Muḥammad Muḥammad 'Uwayda (ed.), Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997) 133.

¹⁹ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 955; Al-Marghināni, Al-Hidāya (Muḥammad 'Adnān Darwish (ed.), 4 vols., Dār al-Arqam, 1997) vol. 3, 15-16; Al-Zuḥayli, supra note 13, 7599.

²⁰ Al-Zuḥaylī, ibid., 7602.

²¹ Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 187-191; Al-Shaykh Niţām, supra note 17, 955; Ibn 'Ābidīn, Radd al-Muhtār 'alā al-Durr al-Mukhtār Sharh Tanwīr al-Abṣār ('Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd and 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwad (eds.), 14 vols., Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003) vol. 6, 517; Nawawī, Minhaj et Talibin: A Manual of Muhammadan Law according to the School of Shafii Translated into English from French Edition of L. W.C. Van Den Berg by E.C. Howard (W. Thacker & Co., 1914) 232.

Nawawi, supra note 21, 232-233.

According to all jurists, a waaf for a mosque is irrevocable and perpetual as mosques are built for God.²³ Therefore, the land of a mosque cannot be sold in any case, though the building may have fallen into ruins and be impossible to reconstruct.²⁴ However, if the authorised mutawalli (administrator) of a mosque buys property with the money of the waaf, according to the commonly accepted view the new property will not become part of waaf property but will become the property of the mosque, which can be sold.²⁵

The above two definitions of the waqf are consistently quoted in classical, post-classical and contemporary literature on waqf. The second definition is approved by the majority of Ḥanafi jurists. However, inconsistency is apparent when Muḥammad al-Shaybānī opines that in case the waqf property is destroyed or damaged to the extent that it can no longer be used or exploited in the way envisioned by the founder, the remains of the property revert to him or his heirs. ²⁶ The Shāfi and Ḥanbalīs hold that in such cases the property reverts to the close relatives of the founder. Only Abū Yūsuf regards the poor as the ultimate beneficiaries in this case. ²⁷

From the legal texts on waqf, it is clear that the connection of the founder with the property does not cease as is asserted by jurists.²⁸ The family of the founder is also given preference in the appointment of the mutawalli (administrator) by the qāḍi who should appoint one from the family of the founder where no one is specified and the post falls vacant.²⁹ This defect in the definition becomes evident when it comes to

¹³ In order to establish an irrevocable waaf for a mosque, prayer must be offered by a group of two or more persons and according to one opinion attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa there should be ādhān (call for prayer) and an undisclosed offering of prayer to make the establishment of the waaf public. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1030. Al-Marghīnānī, supra note 19, 21.

Nawawi, supra note 21, 233; Al-Zuhayli, supra note 13, 7673.

²⁵ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1003.

²⁶ Ibid., 1042.

²⁷ Al-Zuḥaylī, supra note 13, 7650-7651.

²⁸ Shāf'ī goes to the extent that in case the property is damaged by the founder after the creation of a waqf, he is liable for it. Al-Shāfi'ī, Kitāb al-Umm (7 vols., Al-Maṭba'a al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1903) vol. 3, 274.

¹⁹ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 999; Ibn 'Ābidin, supra note 21, 637-638. This principle was actually applied in the Islamic courts as late as the 1930s. See Y. Reiter, Islamic Endowments in Jerusalem under British Mandate (Frank Cass, 1996) 228-229. For its application by the Privy Council in an Indian case, see Mahomedally v. Akberally (1933) 36 Bom L R 388 (PC).

the dissolution of waqf. The Ḥanafi jurists agree that the waqf is dissolved if the male founder apostatises. 30 This shows that the relation between the founder and waqf property does not cease by the creation of a waqf, as is the case with other transactions such as sale, gift and manumission. However, jurists were cognizant of this anomaly and tried to solve the problem of the ownership of waqf property within the Islamic legal paradigm. Thus an opinion is attributed to Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal according to which the ownership of waqf property is transferred to the beneficiaries. This is the accepted view in the Ḥanbalī School. 31 However, the Shāfiʿī School rejects this view.

There are two diverging opinions on this issue and each employs different type of analogy. The first and often quoted view is that the ownership is transferred to God Almighty for the benefit of mankind, as is the case with a mosque. The right of the founder ceases over the wagf property, same as the freed slave no longer remains the property of the master. The other view is that no transfer of property takes place, but the property is reserved or sequestrated and the founder does not lose his ownership; rather his right to alienation is curtailed under law. In support of this view, an analogy is made with Umm al-Walad, the female slave, who on giving birth to a child of her master can no longer be sold and becomes free at the death of her master.32 Therefore, it is argued that the waqf property is like the Umm al-Walad, which is owned by the founder but cannot be alienated by sale, gift or inheritance.33 This view is supported by the tradition of the Prophet when 'Umar approached him for advice by telling him that he wanted to make best use of his property. The Prophet advised him, "habis al-aşl wa sabil al-thamara" (sequester the substance and donate the usufruct).34

³⁰ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 958; Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 187; Ibn 'Ābidīn, supra note 21, 604.

³¹ Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 188.

⁵² For details, see J. Schacht, "Umm al-Walad", Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn. (2011) http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-1290 (accessed 10 May 2011).

³³ Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 189-190.

^{34 &#}x27;This tradition is found in the six compilations of the sayings of the Prophet and is regarded as the authority for the legitimacy of the waqf under Islamic law. See Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl Bukhārī, Saḥiḥ al-Bukhārī (Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān (trans.), Kitāb al-Waṣāyā, Bāb al-Waqf kayfa Yuktab, 9 vols., Kazi Publications, 1979) vol. 4, 27; Muslim ibn al-Ḥujjāj al-Qushayrī, Saḥiḥ Muslim ('Abd al-Mu'rī Amīn Qal'ajī (ed.), Kitāb al-Waṣiya, Bāb al-Waqf, 8 vols., Dār al-Ghad al-'Arabī, 1988) vol. 5, 408; Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī, Sunan Abī Dā'ūd ('Izzat 'Ubayd Da'ās and 'Ādil Sayyid (eds.), Kitāb al-Waṣāyā,

In effect, however, the founder retains his ownership of the waqf property not only during his lifetime but also after death because the mutawallī (administrator) is bound to use the income of the property in accordance with the stipulations of the founder. This view also finds support in the tradition of the Prophet: "Alms (sadaqa) are effective until the day of resurrection". 35 As the founder is the absolute owner of his property, his conditions for the objectives of the waqf should be strictly followed in perpetuity. There is also a legal maxim, which states: the stipulations of the founder are like the provisions of the law giver (shurūṭ al-wāqif ka-naṣṣ al-shāra'). This maxim seems to be based on the tradition of the Prophet which states that "the clauses stipulated by the Muslims must be observed, unless it is a clause that allows that which is illicit or prohibits that which is licit". 36

The principle of strict adherence to the stipulations of the founder is also endorsed by the Qur'ānic verse: "If any man changes it after hearing it, the sin will rest upon those who change it; surely, God is All-hearing, All-knowing". This verse is related to the rules of inheritance. It was quoted in various fatāwā in order to refuse any change in the stipulations of the founder. Thus in a fatwā it is held that if the founder indicated some ways in which the usufruct must be used but does not single out other possible ways, his stipulations must be followed. For example, if the founder endowed the books for 'reading and consulting', they should not be copied. 38

The above traditions of the Prophet and verses of the Qur'an appear to be specific to Muslims, whose proprietary rights are protected even after

Bāb fi al-Rajul Yūqifu al-Waqf, 5 vols., Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1997) vol. 3, 200; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd Ibn Mājah, Sunan Ibn Mājah (Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (ed.), Kitāb al-Ṣadaqāt, Bāb min Waqf, 2 vols., Dār Iḥyā al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1975) vol. 2, 801; Ibn Sinān al-Nasā'ī, Sunan al-Nasā'ī (Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (ed.), Kitāb al-Aḥbās, Dār al-Salām, 1999) 507-508; Muḥammad ibn 'İsā Tirmidhī, Sunan al-Tirmidhī (Khālid 'Abd al-Ghanī Maḥfūẓ (ed.), Kitāb al-Aḥkām 'an al-Rasūl, Bāb fī al-Waqf, 5 vols., Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003) vol. 3, 659.

²⁵ Imber, supra note 1, 147, citing I. Bazzaz, Al-Fatawa al-Bazzaziyya, in the margins of Al-Fatawa al-Hindiyya (Imperial Press, 1912/13) vol. 6, 251.

³⁶ This Ḥadīth is mentioned by Bukhārī, Tirmidhī and Abū Dā'ud and is also quoted in several Fatāwā on waqf in Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib (13 vols., Dr. Muḥammad Ḥajji (ed.), Wazāra al-Awqāf wā al-Sha'ūn al-Islāmiyya li l-Mamlika al-Maghrabiyya, 1981) vol. 7, 288, 340 and 485.

³⁷ Al-Baqara: 181.

³⁸ Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Wansharīsī, Al-Mi yār, supra note 36, 293.

their death. Whether the same protection was available to the *dhimmi* (non-Muslim citizen) under Islamic law is not clear. Generally, non-Muslim citizens were free to adjudicate their disputes under their respective laws. All schools agree upon the validity of a *waaf* made by or for the non-Muslim citizen. According to the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs for the validity of a *waaf* by the non-Muslim citizen it should be for a pious purpose (*qurba*) under the non-Muslim's own religion as well as Islam. Thus a *waaf* by a Christian or Jew in favour of a mosque is invalid.³⁹ The Shāfi'is and Ḥanbalīs do not require piety of purpose under his own religion and according to them such *waaf* is valid.⁴⁰

2.1. Conditions for the Validity of the Waqf

The purpose of a waaf, according to all schools of thought is taqarrub ilā Allāh (pleasure of God) by spending usufruct for birr and khayr (charity and pious purposes).

1 The majority of jurists do not allow a waaf in favour of the rich only.

2 Therefore, the charitable nature of a waaf is at the centre of all other conditions required for the validity of a waaf.

Generally, perpetuity, irrevocability, unconditionality and inalienability of waaf property are the four fundamental conditions for the validity of a waaf. There are some other conditions specific to the various parties involved in the waaf, its objects, its subject matter, its administration, the deed of waaf and the dissolution of waaf. The following section discusses the four fundamental conditions and ancillary matters. Separate sections

³⁹ See for a fatwā to this effect, A.G. Sanjuan, Till God Inherits the Earth: Islamic Pious Endowments in al-Andalus (9-15th Centuries) (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 91.

⁴⁰ Al-Zuḥayli, supra note 13, 7648-7649. The extent to which the non-Muslims were free to lay down conditions for their auqāf especially to protect their faith is not clear and a separate study is required to determine the theory and practice to this effect. However, a condition that in case some of the beneficiaries convert to Islam or any other religion they will lose their benefits was upheld. See Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 957, which quotes the third century jurist Al-Khaṣṣāf as one of the authorities. See also Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 186-187.

⁴¹ The most common expression for the object of waqf used in the classic texts is qurba, which literally means 'nearness' and in the context it means 'nearness to God', i.e., seeking pleasure of God. In Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya and Sharh Fath al-Qadīr, however, the expression 'talab al zulfā' is used which has the same meanings of 'seeking nearness'. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 956; Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 188.

⁴² Ibn 'Abidin, supra note, 21, 519-521. However, if the first beneficiaries are rich followed by the poor then it is valid. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 968.

are devoted to the discussion of the rest of the conditions followed by this section.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of jurists regard perpetuity as a mandatory condition for the validity of a waqf 43 and only the Mālikī School allows a temporary waqf. 44 Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad regard a waqf as irrevocable and perpetual because, according to them, the waqf signifies the termination of ownership as in the case of divorce and manumission, which takes effect by mere pronunciation of words and there is no requirement for the acceptance of waqf property. Abū Ḥanīfa, however, makes an analogy of waqf with 'āriya, which is revocable at the option of the founder and becomes void with his death except where it is to take effect after the death of the founder and is effective only to the extent of one third of his property unless heirs consent otherwise. 45

Abū Ḥanīfa, Muḥammad and Shāfiʿī (in one statement attributed to him) require that the waaf must provide for a purpose, which is perpetual, as perpetuity is a condition for the validity of the waaf. Any waaf that does not provide such an object (ghayr munqṭaʿ) is invalid. Abū Yūsuf, Mālik and Shāfiʿī, however, do not regard this as a mandatory condition and a waaf is for the poor after the extinction of its original object. Abū Yūsuf's argument is that such a condition is not laid down by the Companions of the Prophet and it exists in the waaf by implication as the intention of the founder is to benefit the poor though they might not have specifically stipulated it. Hanbalīs and Shāfiʿīs do not require such a condition and where the object of a waaf is limited, it reverts to the poor family members of the founder after the extinction of the beneficiaries. Hanbalī and most Shāfiʿī jurists base their view on the implicit notion of charity in the waaf and further strengthen their view by referring to several traditions of

⁴³ The condition that limits the waaf to a specified time period is invalid. Al-Shaykh Niṣām, supra note 17, 959. However, a saying is attributed to Abū Yūsuf that he regarded a time limited waaf as valid. Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 192; Ibn 'Ābidīn, supra note, 21, 532.

⁴⁴ Heffening points out that according to the Mālikīs the waaf can be revoked by the founder or his legal heirs. Heffening, "Wakf", supra note 5, 1097.

⁴⁵ Al-Zuḥaylī, supra note 13, 7604-7605.

⁴⁶ Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Khassåf, supra note 15, 32.

⁴⁷ According to the Hanafis, a waqf can have three dimensions: solely for the poor; initially for the rich and then for the poor; and for the poor and rich equally such as public places like mosques, graveyards, inns, etc. Ibn 'Abidin, supra note 21, 603.

⁴⁸ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 960.

⁴⁹ Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 210-213.

the Prophet which state that the best charity is the charity in favour of one's relatives.⁵⁰

The conditions of perpetuity and irrevocability are implied by jurists from the sayings of the Prophet and the traditions of his Companions. The tradition of 'Umar, which is widely quoted as an authority for the validity of the waqf, does not require it to be irrevocable. However, it does mention that the property made waqf must not be sold, gifted or inherited. Other traditions about sadaqa (charity) mention that once given it should not be taken back. These sadaqa traditions are mentioned in Al-Muwaṭṭā' of Imām Mālik who regards a waqf as revocable. Does this mean that there is a distinction between the waqf and the sadaqa? Is not the waqf a form of sadaqa and the terminologies of sadaqa maḥbūsa, sadaqa muḥarrama, sadaqa jāriya and fī sabīl lilāh convey the same meaning?

The answer to the above questions is provided in Al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā. It is stated that 'Alī ibn Ṭālib said that hiba is of three types: one for God, the other for people and the third for thawāb (reward for good deeds in the hereafter). The third category is revocable. A similar saying is attributed to 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb who is reported to have said that whoever made a gift for kinship or ṣadaqa it is not revocable and whoever made a gift for thawāb, it is revocable. These sayings seem to differentiate between a gift/donation for thawāb, for God and for ṣadaqa, although in essence they are one and the same thing. The purpose of thawāb is seeking the blessings of God as is the case with ṣadaqa. However, in the sayings of 'Alī and 'Umar, the hiba for God and hiba for thawāb are distinguished. In the latter case, the donor can revoke it if he wants to do so. Imām Mālik and the Mālikī jurists seem to make a delicate distinction between the two where one is revocable and the other is not. The waaf/habs falls under the category of revocable. The category of revocable.

As the waqf is made for a pious charitable purpose, it must also be unconditional. 55 The founder is not allowed to attach any condition, which

⁵⁰ Al-Zuḥaylī, supra note 13, 7650-7652.

⁵¹ Imām Mālik ibn Anas, Muwaṭṭā', ('Abd al-Majīd Turkī (ed.), Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994) 537-538.

Wehr, supra note 10.

Sahnūn ibn Sa'id, Al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā (Aḥmad 'Abd al-Salām (ed.), 5 vols., Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1994) vol. 4, 425-426.

⁵⁴ However, in practice Målikī jurists regarded the waqf as perpetual. See Sanjuan, supra note 39, 82-141.

Nawawi, supra note 21, 231; Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 959.

may hinder the immediate creation of a waqf. Neither can he reserve the right to sell the waqf property in hard times for his own needs. 56 The majority of jurists regard a conditional waqf as void because it is an irrevocable contract that requires transfer of ownership immediately and is not valid conditionally like a sale and gift. 57 Therefore, for the validity of a waqf it must not be conditional (mu allaq) or dependent at a future point of time (muḍāf ilā waqt fi l-mustaqbal). The Mālikīs, however, do not impose this condition. The only exception in this principle is the condition of death and a testamentary waqf is valid, which takes effect to the extent of one-third of the founder's property without the permission of heirs. However, if heirs allow, the waqf exceeding one-third property of the founder is valid. If only some of them allow such excess, the waqf includes the properties proportionate to their permission. 58

A waaf does not become binding (lāzim) and irrevocable until the property is transferred to a mutawallī (administrator) or beneficiaries. The waaf becomes void if before the transfer of waaf property the founder dies or loses his right of disposal over the property as a result of bankruptcy or death illness (maraḍ al-mawt). This view is held by the Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs (except Abū Yūsuf), Shī a Imāmiyya and some Ḥanbalīs. The Mālikīs are the strictest in this regard as hawz (dispossession by the founder) is a fundamental condition of the waaf according to them. 59 A corollary of this condition is that the founder cannot be the mutawallī (administrator) of the waaf. The basis of their argument is that a waaf is like a gift that requires transfer of possession for its validity. Those who do not require transfer of property (Abū Yūsuf and Shāfi argue that the tradition of

⁵⁶ Ibn 'Abidīn, supra note, 21, 524-525.

⁵⁷ Abū Yūsuf allows a three days option for the revocation of a waaf. However, he agrees with other jurists as to the option regarding a waaf for a mosque, which becomes effective immediately and the condition of option becomes void. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 959.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1027.

⁵⁹ Saḥnun ibn Sa'īd, supra note 53, 419-420.

⁶⁰ This restriction is said to have limited the incentive to set up madāris (schools, pl. of madrasa) by the Mālikīs school and caused its demise in the Eastern part of Muslim world. Makdisi, supra note 3, 37-38 and 238; G. Makdisi, "On the Origin and Development of the College in Islam and the West" in: K.I. Semaan (ed.) Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of International Relations (State University of New York Press, 1980) 37; G. Makdisi, "The Madrasa in Spain: Some Remarks", Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée 15-16 (1973) 153, 155-156.

'Umar does not mention it as a condition and that founding a waqf is like freeing a slave (al-'itq)—an act which does not require transfer.⁶¹

The majority of jurists regard acceptance as a condition for the validity of the waaf in case the waaf is made in favour of some specified persons. 62 The Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalīs, however, do not regard acceptance as necessary. 63 The waaf is not affected by the refusal of the specified persons and automatically transfers to the next person(s) in case of such refusal. If no beneficiary is found it is to be spent on the poor, as the purpose of the waaf is perpetuity. The poor relatives of the founder are given preference. Another view is that in this case the property reverts to the founder or his heirs 64 if they are found otherwise it goes to the state treasury as an owner-less property. 65

After complying with the above conditions, the founder is granted considerable latitude in setting up the conditions for the objectives and operations of the wagf. He sets out the mechanism for the administration of the waaf and the distribution of its income. The most important feature of the founder's powers is that he is not bound by the strict rules of the Islamic law of inheritance while setting up a waqf. Thus he can specify any of his children as the beneficiaries to the exclusion of others. Likewise, he can specify any object of a wagf, which is not sinful, in favour of general public. He can be the first mutawalli (administrator) himself and provide a mechanism for the subsequent appointment and removal of the mutawalli. 66 He can also reserve power to distribute the usufruct of the waaf property to whomever he wants during his lifetime along with the power to add or exclude beneficiaries.⁶⁷ He could also retain his right to modify the terms and conditions of the waqf, which are to be strictly followed. As the waqf was perpetual the founder usually provided the constitution of the waaf which was to last forever.

⁶¹ Al-Zuḥayli, supra note 13, 7618-7619; A. Meier, "Wakf", Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn. (2011) http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-1466 (accessed 10 May 2011).

⁶² Nawawi, supra note 21, 231.

⁶³ Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 188.

⁶⁴ Sahnun ibn Sa'id, supra note 53, 422.

⁶⁵ Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 213.

⁶⁶ However, a mutawalli appointed by a qāḍi cannot be removed by the founder. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 997.

⁶⁷ However, once given the founder cannot take back the property. Ibid., 992.

However, a waaf for one's own benefit is invalid according to the majority of jurists (Mālik, Shāfi'ī and Muḥammad) because one cannot own from oneself like buying something from one's own self.⁶⁸ But Abū Yūsuf and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal⁶⁹ regard such a waaf as valid and Abū Yūsuf's opinion is the accepted view in the Ḥanafī School.⁷⁰ The majority of jurists allow a waaf of a jointly owned property by one co-owner.⁷¹

2.2. Waqf Property and its Uses

The Ḥanafis require that the subject matter of a waqf should be immovable property⁷² in the absolute ownership of the founder⁷³ and must also be specified at the time of the creation of the waqf.⁷⁴ The Ḥanbalī's and Shāfi'ī's view is that everything that can be used without extinguishing its substance can be the subject matter of a waqf.⁷⁵

The waaf property should be revenue generating and as a general rule the waaf of mere usufruct of the property without the substance is invalid. The waaf of easement rights is invalid according to the Ḥanafis. The waaf of iqtā (concession/grant for tax collection) is also not valid, as the state reserves the ownership of such land. As this type of land is not absolutely owned by

is Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 194.

^{191.} Ibid., 191.

The reason for giving preference to Abū Yūsuf's view is to encourage people to create waqf for charitable purposes. Ibn 'Abidin, supra note 21, 583; Al-Shaykh Niṣām, supra note 17, 969 and 989; Al-Qudūrī, Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī, supra note 18, 128.

⁷¹ Al-Shaykh Nizām, ibid., 965.

⁷² Ibid., 962. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the waqf of military horses and weapons is not permissible because they are movable and it is not customary to make them subject to a waqf. His two disciples, Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad, however, regard such a waqf as valid relying upon the saying of the Prophet: "Khālid made a waqf (ibtabasa) of his horses in the way of God (fi sabīl lilāh)..."; Al-Marghīnānī, supra note 19, 17. Waqf of the Qur'ān and books is valid according to the Ḥanafis. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 963.

⁷³ Al-Zuḥaylī, supra note 13, 7635. The rationale for the requirement of absolute ownership is that the waqf, according to the Ḥanafis, signifies the cessation of the ownership of the founder. Therefore, the property must be absolutely owned to make a waqf. Thus, in cases where the ownership right of the founder is not perfect, e.g., an incomplete sale transaction, the waqf is not valid. Al-Shaykh Niẓām, ibid., 957-958.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 958.

⁷⁵ Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 229-230; Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 203.

Al-Zuhayli, supra note 13, 7637.

⁷⁷ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 963.

Al-Zuḥayli, supra note 13, 7613.

a private person, not even the ruler himself, the *waqf* made of this land is regarded as invalid. ⁷⁹ One exception to this general rule was the *waqf irṣād*, made by rulers out of state properties. ⁸⁰

The Hanafi and Hanbali jurists unanimously held that the waaf of a subject matter, which could only benefit by its consumption, e.g., food, drinks and silver and gold currency, is not valid because the waaf is made for eternity and this condition cannot be fulfilled with consumable property.81 However, in certain parts of the Ottoman Empire, the practice of cash awqāf flourished and perpetuity was attained by investing the cash in mudaraba partnership (commenda). The profits were used as the usufruct of real estate. The validity of this practice was hotly debated amongst jurists. Abū Su'ūd, the Shaykh ul Islām of Sulaymān the Magnificent, issued a fatwā in favour of such awgāf, despite the fact that they involved payment of interest as practically the waqf money was not invested in muḍaraba (commenda), but it was lent on interest. Abū Su'ūd did not come up with an entirely unique justification. In the Hanafi legal tradition, the third famous disciple of Abū Hanīfa, Zufar regards the cash waaf as valid and the other disciple Muhammad al-Shaybani, also permits the waaf of movables if that is sanctioned by custom.82

⁷⁹ This was the case in the Ottoman Empire. In Mughal India, however, the royal grants of property were made to shrines as a waqf. G.C. Kozlowski, "Imperial Authority, Benefactions and Endowments (Awqāf) in Mughal India", (1995) 38 Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 355. See also Kulb Ali Hoosein v. Syf Ali 2 Sel. Rep., 110 (O); 139 (N) and 3 Sel. Rep., 407 (O); 543 (N).

Under the Ḥanafī School, the waaf irṣād is regarded as "not a real waaf", but it is not invalid despite the fact that it does not fulfil the condition of the absolute ownership of the founder because the sulṭān or ruler does not own state land. However, unlike the real waaf, two restrictions were imposed on it. First, its objectives were limited to the subjects, which could be supported by the treasury (bayt al-māl). Second, the stipulations of the founder were not binding on the succeeding rulers, though they could not abolish it or divert its funds from the stated objectives. Ibn 'Ābidīn, supra note 21, 654; K.M. Cuno, "Ideology and Juridical Discourse in Ottoman Egypt: The Uses of the Concept of Irṣād", (1999) 6 Islamic Law and Society 136, 143-144.

According to the Hanbalīs and Shāfi'is, the waqf of jewellery, however, is allowed and no Zakāt is payable on it. Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 229-230; Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 963.

^{*2} Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 963; Ibn 'Ābidin, supra note 21, 555-556. Interestingly, in the eighteenth century the Ḥanafī jurists did not find it difficult to validate the waaf of securities and shares. Ali, Mahommedan Law, supra note 1, 246; Dr. A. Al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, "The Waaf of Moveables", (1911) 7 n.s. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 323.

The waqf for public services like schools, hospitals, orphanages, soup kitchens, waterways, bridges, public roads, mosques etc., consists of two types of properties. One is for the utility itself and the other generates revenue for its maintenance and operation. The second type included rent generating houses, shops and agricultural lands. In some cases, whole markets and many villages were owned by awqāf.⁸³

When the waqf properties become useless due to change in circumstances, they are to be used for the similar objectives. For example, if a khān (lodge for travellers) in a village becomes useless, it is to be used for another khān in the village. As the waqf is a perpetual charity, the waqf property cannot be sold or consumed. However, serious challenge was posed when the waqf properties were seriously damaged or destroyed or they became useless due to the change of circumstances. In order to deal with such situation, the waqf property could be exchanged for a similar property (istibdāl) or money (which essentially means sale) or it could be given on a long-term lease called hukr or ijāratayn. The Ḥanafis regard istibdāl and the sale of waqf property as valid where it is stipulated by the founder for himself or for the future mutawallī. They still allow it where it is not thus stipulated or even prohibited by the founder but the waqf

⁸³ For examples of such auqāf, see O. Peri, "The Waqf as an Instrument to Increase and Consolidate Political Power: The Case of Khasseki Sultan Waqf in late Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Jerusalem" in: G.R. Warburg and G.G. Gilbar (eds.), Studies in Islamic Society: Contributions in Memory of Gabriel Baer (Haifa: Haifa University Press 1984); and M. Hoexter, Endowments, Rulers and Community (Leiden: Brill 1998).

Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1042.

Mukr is a contract for the lease of land for building or cultivation. It is similar to Ottoman practice of ijāratayn. Literally ijāratayn means two rents. This class of waaf developed around 1590 AD as a result of the damage or destruction of a waaf building, which could not be repaired due to the lack of funds. The primary purpose of this arrangement was to utilize the damaged or destroyed waaf properties by lending them to the tenants who were willing to pay an upfront amount with the condition to occupy the property for their lives. Later on the right to usufruct of this property was extended to the children of the first occupier. However, the transfer was not automatic. It required the approval of the waaf administration as well as the government. Succession, sale and mortgage duties were imposed on such waaf properties. Ibn 'Abidīn, supra note 21, 592; C.R. Tyser, F. Ongley and M. Izzet, The Laws Relating to Immoveable Property made Vaaf (Nicosia: Government Printing Office, Nicosia, 1904) 15-22, 68; J.R. Barnes, An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire (Leiden: Brill, 1986) 54-55.

³⁶ In cases where the founder allows istibdāl to the mutawalli in a waaf deed and does not reserve this power for himself, he is still authorised to exchange. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 991.

property becomes entirely useless. The istibdāl or sale of a mosque is not valid, which is to remain as such until the day of judgment. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī's view is that if the waqf property becomes useless it reverts to the founder or to his heirs. 87 The Mālikīs do not allow the sale of the immovable property of the waqf except for widening the mosque or the street. The Ḥanbalīs are the most permissive in this respect. They allow sale or istibdāl if the property is damaged or destroyed to an extent that it is no longer useful. The Shāfi'is and the Shī'a Imāmiyya hold that the waqf remains in existence as long as there are goods left that can be used or exploited in some way. The beneficiaries own the property if the remaining property can only be used by consuming it. However, all schools agree that the sale of waqf property is prohibited and the waqf property cannot be sold or exchanged only to make its use more profitable.88

2.3. The Administration of Waqf

As mentioned above, perpetuity is one of the fundamental conditions for the validity of the waqf. Islamic law, however, did not have the concept of juristic personality for non-human entities. Therefore, the legal status of the waqf posed an intricate juridical problem. Some scholars have suggested that the waqf has a financial dhimma⁸⁹ (capacity) as the mutawalli does not own waqf property, he does not incur any personal liability while administering the waqf, though he can borrow for the maintenance of waqf properties with the permission of the court. 90

⁸⁷ Ibn 'Abidin, supra note 21, 573; Al-Shaykh Nizām, ibid., 968.

^{**} Al-Zuhayli, supra note 13, 7672-7682; Meier, supra note 61.

^{**} The concept of dhimma is the Islamic equivalent of legal personality. Generally, dhimma means a presumed or imaginary repository that contains all the rights and obligations relating to a person. The concept of dhimma developed in conjunction with the concept of legal capacity (āhliyya). The legal capacity (āhliyya) consists of two concepts: the capacity to have rights and incur liabilities (āhliyyat al-wūjūb); and the capacity to conduct or execute ones affairs (āhliyyat al-ādā). Some modern scholars suggest that non-human legal persons may have the capacity to enjoy rights and incur liabilities but they cannot have the capacity to fulfil their obligations on their own. However, this can be true with respect to religious obligations only. As the concepts of legal capacity and personality embrace both religious and financial rights and liabilities, non-human entities are capable of financial rights and liable for the same. Muṣṭafā Aḥmad Zarqā, Al-Madkhal al-Fiqhī al-ʿAmm (2 vols., 6th edn., Maṭbaˈat Jāmiˈat Dimashq 1959) vol. 2, 733-741.

^{**} Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1008; Ibn 'Abidin, supra note 21, 657-658.

The problem of perpetuity is resolved through the legal fiction under which the waaf property is vested in God. Jurists identified the separation of the substance and usufruct in waqf property. Whereas the substance is reserved (either in the ownership of the founder or God), the usufruct belongs to the beneficiaries. This is the unanimous view of all jurists. 91 The entire class of beneficiaries is, however, not identifiable as the waqf is perpetual and every beneficiary has only a lifetime interest in the usufruct of waaf property. However, in a family waaf, the entire class of beneficiaries is identifiable at one point in time, though the future beneficiaries remain unidentified. Moreover, even in this type of waqf, according to the accepted view of Hanafis, ultimate beneficiaries are the poor who are not identifiable. This gives rise to a complex question about the nature of the waaf: whether it is a private or a public arrangement? If it is private, then the state cannot interfere in its administration. Some awgāf are a mixture of private and public interests. Since according to the commonly accepted view, the poor are the ultimate beneficiaries even in a family wagf, theoretically state interference is justified in all types of awgāf.

The external control of the waqf was primarily vested in the qāḍī. Therefore, the duties of the qāḍī in this respect are discussed in the Fiqh literature. As the primary object of a waqf is charity, which involves public welfare, the community represented by state has a stake in it. This is how a qāḍī (court) assumes the responsibility of supervision of a waqf. Theoretical justification for the interference of the state through the qāḍī into the affairs of waqf also stems from the conceptual ownership of waqf

⁹¹ According to Ahmad ibn Hanbal and some Shāfi'is the ownership of waaf property is vested in the beneficiaries. Some scholars have attributed to Ahmad the saying that the beneficiaries are not owners, as the waaf property is neither to be sold nor inherited. Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 188.

⁹² In the history of waqf, when the qāḍi was assigned this duty is not known. However, in the waqf of the Companions, qāḍi finds no mention. Likewise, the qāḍi is not mentioned in the two earliest Ḥanafī treatises of the third Islamic century written by al-Khaṣṣāf and Hilāl al-Rā'y. The waqf deed found in Kitāb al-Umm, however, assigns the qāḍi a duty to appoint an administrator in case "among the existing generation there is no one who is capable and trustworthy". Al-Shāfi'i, supra note 28, 283. According to the information provided by Al-Kindī (d. 350/961), we find that the management of the waqf was assigned to a specialized department (dīwān) under the rule of Umayyad Caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Mālik (reigned 724-743 AD) at the behest of the Judge Tawba ibn Namīr al-Hadramī in 118/737. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Kindī, The Governors and Judges of Egypt, or, Kitāb el 'umarā' (el-wulāh) wa Kitāb el-Quḍāh of El-Kindī (Brill 1912) 346.

property by God in favour of mankind.⁹³ The qāḍī is a supervisor for the overall management of the waqf. He is authorized to interfere in its management where there is a danger to waqf property either from the negligent mutawallī or the founder himself when he is also a mutawallī.⁹⁴ The qāḍī is to oversee that the valid conditions of a deed of waqf are properly enforced and where a deviation is required in order to make effective use of waqf properties, permission of the qāḍī is mandatory. For example, where a stipulation is made that the waqf property should not be rented for more than one year⁹⁵ and it is beneficial to enter into a long-term lease.⁹⁶ In this case the mutawallī is required to apply for the permission of the qāḍī before entering into a lease extending one year.⁹⁷

In addition to qāḍī courts, maṣālim courts and special departments for overseeing the awqāf existed throughout the Muslim world since the second century of Islam (eighth century AD). The powers and duties of such courts and departments varied from time to time and place to place. The historical evidence about their existence and operations is not found in legal compendia as they fell under the siyāsa jurisdiction of rulers. Rulers under this jurisdiction were allowed to deviate from the strict injunctions of Islamic law for protecting the general interests of community through effective governance and administration of state. Therefore, the head of maṣālim courts could recourse to supra legal measures in order to ensure that public awqāf (al-awqāf al-'āmma) were properly managed in accordance with the stipulations of the founder. Thus he could initiate an investigation into the affairs of the waaf without a formal complaint being filed by the eligible person and could also rely upon official documents without the witnesses. However, with respect to the private awqāf (al-awqāf (al-awqāf))

[&]quot;For a detailed discussion see M. Hoexter, "Huquq Allah and Huquq Al-Ibad as Reflected in the Waqf Institution", Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 19 (1995) 133.

Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 997.

⁹⁵ Such conditions were normally laid down in the waaf deeds in order to avoid expropriation of waaf properties by lessees.

⁹⁶ Al-Zuḥayli, supra note 13, 7688.

⁹⁷ Al-Kindi records that the qāḍi diligently ensured that the waqf properties were properly maintained and some of them personally supervised the maintenance. In case the administrator was found negligent in maintaining the property, he was punished with lashes. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Kindi, The Governors and Judges of Egypt, supra note 92, 394-395 and 384.

property by God in favour of mankind.⁹³ The qāḍī is a supervisor for the overall management of the waqf. He is authorized to interfere in its management where there is a danger to waqf property either from the negligent mutawallī or the founder himself when he is also a mutawallī.⁹⁴ The qāḍī is to oversee that the valid conditions of a deed of waqf are properly enforced and where a deviation is required in order to make effective use of waqf properties, permission of the qāḍī is mandatory. For example, where a stipulation is made that the waqf property should not be rented for more than one year⁹⁵ and it is beneficial to enter into a long-term lease.⁹⁶ In this case the mutawallī is required to apply for the permission of the qāḍī before entering into a lease extending one year.⁹⁷

In addition to qāḍī courts, maṣālim courts and special departments for overseeing the awqāf existed throughout the Muslim world since the second century of Islam (eighth century AD). The powers and duties of such courts and departments varied from time to time and place to place. The historical evidence about their existence and operations is not found in legal compendia as they fell under the siyāsa jurisdiction of rulers. Rulers under this jurisdiction were allowed to deviate from the strict injunctions of Islamic law for protecting the general interests of community through effective governance and administration of state. Therefore, the head of maṣālim courts could recourse to supra legal measures in order to ensure that public awqāf (al-awqāf al-'āmma) were properly managed in accordance with the stipulations of the founder. Thus he could initiate an investigation into the affairs of the waaf without a formal complaint being filed by the eligible person and could also rely upon official documents without the witnesses. However, with respect to the private awqāf (al-awqāf (al-awqāf))

[&]quot;For a detailed discussion see M. Hoexter, "Huquq Allah and Huquq Al-Ibad as Reflected in the Waqf Institution", Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 19 (1995) 133.

Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 997.

⁹⁵ Such conditions were normally laid down in the waaf deeds in order to avoid expropriation of waaf properties by lessees.

⁹⁶ Al-Zuḥayli, supra note 13, 7688.

⁹⁷ Al-Kindi records that the qāḍi diligently ensured that the waqf properties were properly maintained and some of them personally supervised the maintenance. In case the administrator was found negligent in maintaining the property, he was punished with lashes. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Kindi, The Governors and Judges of Egypt, supra note 92, 394-395 and 384.

al-khāṣṣa), he was bound to follow the proper procedure of law as was applicable in a qādī court.98

The internal administration of the waaf is simple. The founder lays down a procedure for the appointment of one or more than one mutawalli to administer the waaf according to the terms and conditions of the waaf deed.99 He could do this either by specifying the names like A, B and C or conditions like the wisest, eldest or most knowledgeable person amongst the family or community. However, if the founder did not appoint a mutawalli, the qāḍi is to appoint one according to the Mālikīs and Shāfi īs. 100 The Hanafi view is that the founder is the mutawalli101 whether he made this a condition or not and after his death the appointment would be according to the will, if such a will is made, and where it is not made, the ruler is to appoint a mutawalli. The Hanbalis agree with the Hanafis that the ruler will appoint a mutawalli in case the beneficiaries are unspecified like the poor or 'ulama' or mujahidin (warriors) or madrasa (school) or mosque. However, if the beneficiaries are specified then every beneficiary is mutawalli to the extent of his shares as Hanbalis regard the beneficiaries to be the owners of waaf properties. 102

The mutawalli must be a capable person with necessary skills to manage the waqf. He should be a trustworthy (āmin) and just ('ādil) person and must not be a fāsiq (sinful). 103 The condition of capability requires that the mutawalli be a major, however, if a minor is nominated as a mutawalli he will assume that position upon attaining the age of majority. 104 Masculinity and Islam is not a condition as a woman and non-Muslim can also be a mutawalli. 105 The mutawalli should not put himself into a position of conflict of interests and where he buys from the waqf property or mortgages

Al-Mawardi, Al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyyah (The Laws of Islamic Governance) (Assadullah ad-Dhaakir Yate (trans.), Ta-Ha Publishers Ltd., 1996) 124-125.

Monother expression used for the mutawalli is 'qaiyyam'. This is the simplest form of a waqf. In other cases a nāzir (accountant) might be appointed by either the founder or the qādī to keep an eye on the accounts of the waqf. Ibn 'Abidīn, supra note 21, 683.

¹⁰⁰ Nawawi, supra note 21, 233.

¹⁰¹ This is the view of Abū Yūsuf. According to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, however, the waaf is invalid in this case. The reason for this difference is that the former does not require transfer of property as the necessary requirement for the validity of the waaf as against the latter who requires it. Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 996.

¹⁰² Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 237.

¹⁰³ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 996.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 996.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

it for personal interests, he is to be removed from office. 106 The ruler can remove the *mutawallī* through the court, though he be the founder, in case he is found wanting in any of these requirements. 107 The *mutawallī* is personally liable for an inappropriate conduct; for example where he pays more than normal wages out of *waqf* funds. 108

The first and foremost duty of the *mutawallī* is to maintain and exploit waaf property according to the stipulations of the waaf deed. The valid conditions of the founder have the force of law, as there is a maxim: "the stipulations of the founder are like the provisions of the law giver" (shurūṭ al-wāqif ka-naṣṣ al-shāra'). The mutawallī is like the guardian of a minor or an insane person and owes utmost duty of care and loyalty to the founder and beneficiaries. However, he is entitled to take remuneration for his services. 100

Since a waqf is founded in perpetuity, the waqf property is to be maintained in a proper condition and the mutawalli is to repair it whether he is authorised by the founder or not. The maintenance expenses are to be incurred before making any payment to the beneficiaries. If the property is exploited by renting it out, maintenance must be paid from the proceeds. If the beneficiaries of a waqf have the right to use only, they themselves are liable for the maintenance of the property and where they are unable to do so or neglect the property, the ruler or qāqi can evict them and rent out the property in order to generate money for its maintenance. However, those who have the right of residence cannot give it on rent, as their right is limited to the residence only and they are not the owners of the property.

2.4. The Deed of Waqf

The deed of waaf is the constitution of a waaf and is equivalent to the Memorandum and Articles of Association of a corporation. It contains detailed provisions for the objectives of the waaf, the waaf property, the

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 1000. The mutawalli cannot lease waaf property to his son or father except on more than the normal rate, at 1005.

¹⁰⁷ In case there are more than one mutawalli of a waaf, they are jointly liable and in case some of them embezzle all of them will be removed from their offices. This was the opinion of Abū Su'ūd, the great Shaykh ul-Islām of the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century. Ibn 'Abidin, supra note 21, 578.

¹⁰ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1034.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Zuhayli, supra note 13, 7688.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 7670.

Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 208.

beneficiaries and their shares, the *mutawallī*, their powers and the mechanism for the appointment of subsequent *mutawallī*, and the ultimate object (which should be perpetual according to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī). However, Islamic law does not recognise the independent evidentiary value of written documents. The document under Islamic law should be endorsed by two witnesses for its validity. This lack of legal potency of the document under Islamic law is said to have been an impediment in the development of institutions in Muslim societies. A strict adherence to this principle should have caused a premature death of the institution of *waqf*. However, this was not the case and a mechanism was developed for the registration of *waqf* deeds with courts. Court records provided evidence in case where no witnesses survived and the dispute was brought before the court for adjudication. However, a *waqf* deed signed by the *qāqī* and witnesses is not accepted as evidence and similarly a placate on the door of a house stating it a *waqf* is not a valid piece of evidence without witnesses.

The stipulations of a waqf deed are divided into three categories: saḥiḥ (valid), bāṭil (void) and fāsid (voidable). The valid conditions are to be enforced strictly. 116 However, jurists discuss the circumstances where the valid conditions may not be acted upon, e.g., where the founder stipulated that the property should not be exchanged and the exchange is beneficial. The void conditions are contradictory to the very objective of the waqf and they render the waqf invalid, e.g., condition for the sale of waqf property for the benefit of the founder or for disposing of it as a gift or charity. The

¹¹² This is paradoxical as the Qur'an specifically instructs believers to write down every important business transaction. However, the justification of jurists for not relying on documents was the possibility of forgery. But there were many exceptions to this general principle such as the ledgers of moneychangers, brokers and merchants. Ibn 'Ābidīn, supra note 21, 622. For detailed exposition of this principle, see J.A. Wakin, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press 1972).

¹¹⁵ See G. Lydon, "A Paper Economy of Faith without Faith in Paper: A Reflection on Islamic Institutional History", Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization 71 (2009) 647.

Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1018-1019; Ibn 'Abidīn, supra note 21, 599-600.

¹¹⁵ It seems that apart from registering waqf deeds with the qāqli, important conditions of the waqf were also inscribed on the waqf property in order to publicise its being a waqf. See M. Sharon, "A waqf Inscription from Ramlah", (1966) 13 Arabica 77. For this practice in India, see Kulson Bibee v. Golam Hossein Cassim Ariff 10 (1905) CWN 449.

¹¹⁶ The valid conditions mentioned in Minhāj which "should be faithfully executed" include that the property should not be leased or the mosque should be for a particular sect only like Shāfi'is. Nawawī, supra note 21, 231. Similar conditions are mentioned in the Fatāwā al-'Alamgīriyya, supra note 17, 995.

voidable conditions are against the beneficial exploitation of waqf properties or they are prohibited by Shari'a, e.g., revocability of a waqf for a mosque or non-removal of the mutawalli even though he embezzles, or making of a waqf for evil purposes. ¹¹⁷ In this case, the waqf is valid and the condition is void.

As the deed of waqf was the constitution of the waqf, the words used in it were immensely important in order to determine the intention of the founder. Therefore, separate chapters on the interpretations of words and phrases used in the waqf deeds are found in Fiqh books. The most common words that required interpretation were the words, which established the waqf, e.g., sadaqa, mawqūfa, muḥarrama, etc. One consistently occurring issue has been whether grandchildren were included if the founder used the expression 'walad'. Jurists usually had recourse to the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet to provide answers to such queries. 118

2.5. Dispute Resolution under Waqf Law

The adjudication of the legal disputes relating to waaf law involves one complex question: given the difference of opinion between not only various schools but also within one school, which makes adjudication very hard if not impossible, did Islamic law have any practical value? In other words, whether the treatises discussed here so far were merely theoretical and intellectual exercises of jurists with no practical application at all? Even if some relation between the law and practice is established, the question arises about the extent of this relation in different periods of time and jurisdictions. A satisfactory answer to such question could be found by looking into the court records and official archives of various jurisdictions. Various studies by using court cases and official records have already been undertaken in different parts of the world, which establish that the Islamic law of waaf was applied in courts before and after colonisation. 119

¹¹⁷ Al-Zuḥayli, supra note 13, 7630 and 7660-7661.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Qudama, for instance, quotes the Qur'anic verses of Sura al-Nisa' to argue that singular 'walad' (child) includes grandchildren and all the following generations. He further strengthens this argument by the tradition of the Prophet, which mentions Bani Isma'il and shows that the tribe is attributed to its elder of previous generations. Thus when a singular noun 'walad' is mentioned it includes the subsequent generations. Ibn Qudama, supra note 17, 195-196.

¹¹⁹ Kozlowski, supra note 3; Barnes, supra note 83; Reiter, supra note 29.

Economic historians lament the fact that the waqf failed to develop into a self-governing institution unlike its counterpart, the English trust. This is said to be because of two features of the waqf: static perpetuity and founder's freedom of choice to bind the mutawalli. 120 In addition to these two factors, general principles for dispute resolution also inhibited the development of a self-governing institution. The rights of beneficiaries were limited, as they could not bring a suit on their own. In case the waaf property is confiscated by someone, they could bring a suit only with the permission of the qāḍī. 121 Similarly, they did not have the power to nominate a mutawalli without the permission of the qadi despite the fact that jurists recognised their being better aware about the waaf and in a position to provide a better nomination.122 Likewise, the powers of the mutawalli were limited with respect to the adjudication of waaf related disputes. Although he, not the beneficiaries, was the defendant in a suit against the waqf, he did not have authority to adjudicate disputes related to the waqf except where he was authorised by either state or custom. 123

2.6. The Dissolution of Waqf

The majority of jurists despite regarding the perpetuity and irrevocability as fundamental conditions for the validity of a waaf envisage certain circumstances under which a waaf can be dissolved. The Ḥanafis allow a founder who is inflicted with poverty to get his waaf cancelled by the qāḍi. 124 Second instance for the dissolution of waaf arises when the waaf property is either completely destroyed or damaged to an extent that it can no longer be used or exploited in the way envisioned by the founder. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī holds that in this case, the waaf ceases to exist and the remains of the property revert to the founder or his heirs. 125 Other jurists, however, assert that no possibility of alternative use or exploitation must be left unexplored before the waaf is dissolved. The waaf of a mosque, however, never dissolves under any circumstances.

The waaf becomes void if the founder apostatises, as the purpose of a waaf is qurba ilâ Allâh (seeking the pleasure of God). The waaf property

¹²⁰ Kuran, supra note 3, 878.

¹²¹ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1026.

¹²² Ibid., 999-1000.

¹³³ Ibid., 1013-1014.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 1045.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 1042.

and by testament cannot exceed more than one-third property of the founder. This is the unanimous position of all jurists.

As mentioned above, one other important rule of inheritance, which comes into conflict with the waqf law, is that no will can be made in favour of legal heirs. In this context, the validity of a waqf in favour of legal heirs was questioned as it continues to operate after the death of the founder. Some jurists allowed this, arguing that the waqf is not a waṣiya (will) as it can neither be sold nor inherited and the waqf property is not owned by the beneficiaries. This view is attributed to Shāfi'ī. Other jurists do not allow this as the waqf is like a gift and the usufruct of the waqf property also falls under the prohibition of inheritance law. 145 This is the view of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. 146 However, the majority of jurists seem to have allowed such waqf. 147

Under the Islamic law of gifts, a gift can only be made to an existing person. Thus the waqf violates this limitation as the founder donates to his progeny that is non-existent at the time of the creation of a waqf. The Hanafis and Mālikīs do not require that the beneficiaries of a waqf must exist at the time of the creation of a waqf. Thus a waqf for unborn children is valid. The Shāfi is 148 and Hanbalis regard such a waqf as invalid. The latter, however, regard a waqf for children in womb as valid. 149

About the status of the waqf in Islamic law, there can be three possibilities: one, it falls under the law of gifts; second, it falls under the law of charity; and third, it falls under the law of inheritance. The first proposition is supported by Shāfi'ī. According to him, gifts have three types: two are inter vivos and one testamentary. The inter vivos are either ordinary gifts, which require making of gift along with the transfer of possession, or they are sadaqa muḥarrama, which takes effect by mere pronouncement

Maliki jurists, though, regarded a waaf in favour of legal heirs as invalid, declared it valid if it was made in favour of grandchildren (their shares have not been determined by the Qur'an and thus this prohibition does not apply). As parents are the guardians of minors so sons and daughters (legal heirs) benefitted from the waaf property. Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Wansharisī, supra note 36, 311-320; D.S. Powers, "The Islamic Family Endowment (Waaf)", (1999) 32 Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law 1167, 1180. For an earlier version of this article, see D.S. Powers, "The Maliki Family Endowment: Legal Norms and Social Practices", International Journal of Middle East Studies 25 (1993) 379.

¹⁶⁶ Ibn Qudăma, supra note 17, 217-219.

¹⁴⁷ Fatāwā al-Ālamgīriyya refers to the opinion of Hilâl as an authority on this point, supra note 17, 975.

¹⁴⁸ Nawawi, supra note 21, 230.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Zuhayli, supra note 13, 7640-7643.

will be subjected to inheritance law, whether he is killed because of apostasy, or dies or reconverts to Islam. 126 However, the waqf created by a woman is not affected by her apostasy, as she is not liable to death punishment because of her apostasy. 127 This rule shows that the relationship of the founder with the waqf property does not terminate. 128 The earliest mention of this rule in the Ḥanafī tradition is found in the third century treatise, Kitāb Aḥkām al-Awqāf of Al-Khaṣṣāf, who quotes Abū Ḥanīfa's view that the apostate cannot exercise his right on his property and even if he does so such transactions are void. Abū Yūsuf, on the other hand, regards such transactions as valid. Al-Khaṣṣāf, however, does not mention that the waqf made by a woman does not dissolve and for this the Fatāwā al-Ālamgīriyya quotes the sixteenth century treatise, Baḥr al-Rā iq of Ibn Nujaym (d. 970/1563). 129

According to the Mālikīs, a waaf can be made for a limited period of time and in favour of a specified number of beneficiaries. It becomes extinct when the last of them dies or the specified period expires. The waaf property then returns to the founders or to their heirs. The waaf can also be revoked by the founders if they stipulate in the waaf deed that the property will return to them or it may be sold in case they need it. Other schools do not agree with the Mālikīs on this point. 130

The waaf by an insolvent person is void. In case it is not clear whether the debt was incurred before or after making a waaf, the waaf is void as it is a charity and return of debt is an obligation. This is the Mālikī view. ¹³¹ As a matter of policy, law could not allow the use of waaf to defraud creditors. The classical Islamic law took into account this aspect of waaf and disallowed a waaf of an insolvent person who used waaf in order to defraud his

¹²⁶ The property of the *waaf* made void because of apostasy does not reconvert into a *waaf* with his reconversion to Islam rather it is required to be renewed as a *waaf*. Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Khaṣṣāf, *supra* note 15, 351.

Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 958; and Ibn al-Humām, supra note 17, 187.

This has significant implications in cases where the founder becomes insolvent and creditor wants to attach waaf property. Surprisingly this issue does not find any mention in an otherwise very comprehensive code, the Fatāwā al-'Alamgīriyya. This is surprising because there are a large number of cases in colonial India where the creditor is a plaintiff against the insolvent founder of the waaf who claims to disown the waaf property. See for details, Kozlowski, supra note, 3; S.K. Rashid, Wakf Administration in India: A Socio-Legal Study (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd. 1978).

¹²⁹ Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 958.

¹³⁰ Al-Zuhayli, supra note 13, 7668.

¹³¹ Ibid.

creditors. However, once dedicated, the property ceased to belong to the founder. Therefore, a *waaf* created by a solvent person cannot be claimed by his creditors, nor can a subsequent purchaser for consideration of *waaf* property set aside the *waaf*.¹³²

2.7. The Place of Waqf in Islamic Law

It is not easy to determine the status of the waaf in Islamic law because it resembles various legal categories such as sadaqa (charity), hiba (gift) and mawarith (inheritance). In fact, the waqf operates under all these categories and also comes into conflict with them. The most significant conflict is with inheritance law (mawarith or farà'id) as this branch of Islamic law is based on the clear and strict provisions of the Qur'an itself. The Qur'an explicitly lays down the portion of each legal heir after the death of a believer. However, believers are free to donate as much of their property as they wish during their lifetime until terminal illness (marad al-mawt) approaches them. The legal rule prohibits the exercise of the right of alienation of property exceeding one-third during terminal illness. 133 Believers are strongly advised to leave a written will 34 and make sadaga (charity) during their lifetime, 135 however, their right to dispose of their property by will is limited to the one-third of their property. Another restriction is that no will in favour of legal heirs can be made as their rights are already determined by law.136

¹³² The waaf of an indebted person is valid though it might be in his own favour. Abu Sa'ūd was of the opinion that a person who is heavily involved in debts if he creates a waaf with the objective of defrauding the creditors, the qādī is empowered to refuse to recognise his waaf and compel him to sell his property to pay his debt. Ali, supra note 1, 205-211.

¹³⁵ Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il Bukhārī, Saḥiḥ al-Bukhārī, supra note 34, 3-6.

¹³⁴ Al-Bagara: 180-182.

¹²⁵ Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il Bukhārī, Saḥiḥ al-Bukhārī, supra note 34, 6.

¹³⁶ Historians of Islamic law such as Powers, Yanagihashi, Crone and Hennigan have looked into the developments of "Islamic inheritance system". Hennigan finds that waaf law emerged in the shadow of such established doctrines as inheritance law, bequests and terminal illness. The waaf was distinguished from inheritance and bequests but it remained subordinate to these established doctrines. Hennigan, supra note 1, 104-105. D.S. Powers, Studies in Qur'an and Hadith: The Formation of the Islamic Law of Inhertiance (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986); H. Yanagihashi, "Doctrinal Development of Marad al-Mawt in the Formative Period of Islamic Law", Islamic Law and Society 5 (1998) 326; P. Crone, Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate (Cambridge: CUP, 1987).

Thus the family waqf comes into direct conflict with inheritance law, as the founder creates an interest in favour of his children irrespective of the limitations imposed by the Qur'an. Therefore, some jurists questioned the legitimacy of the waqf in favour of family members in the early days of Islam. 137 However, not only the Prophet himself but a great number of his Companions also alienated their properties as sadaqal waqfi habs. All these alienations were made as acts of piety, whether to benefit the family members or community in general. A recurring theme in Ḥadith literature on charity is that it begins at home. 138 Therefore, despite this significant conflict within various branches of Islamic law, the waqf flourished and the majority of jurists endorsed it as not only valid but also pious. In fact, among other types of charity the waqf is given preference because of its continuity and perpetual nature. 139

However, the problem of waqf being used to curtail the inheritance law and especially to deprive women of their share in inheritance became evident in the early period of Islam during the lifetime of the Companions of the Prophet. A large number of Companions of the Prophet established awaāf and one Companion, Jābir is quoted to have said that there was no Companion left who had means and he did not establish a waaf. 140 There is no evidence about the existence of this problem or about its future occurrence during the lifetime of the Prophet. The earliest mention of this problem in the Figh literature is found in Al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā where in the chapter of abbas (pl. of babs) one heading reads: "the babs for sons; exclusion of daughters; exclusion of some of them; and division of habs". Under this heading, the waaf of many prominent Companions of the Prophet such as 'Uthmān ibn 'Afān, Zubayr ibn al-'Awām, Ţalḥa ibn 'Ubayd ullah and 'Amr ibn 'As are mentioned. They made waqf in favour of their children without the exclusion of daughters. When 'A'isha, the wife of the Prophet, was told about this problem, she said that such was not the practice of the Companions. It is also mentioned that caliph 'Umar

¹³⁷ Most important amongst them was Qāḍī Shurayḥ, a prominent judge who based his opinion on the saying of the Prophet that there can be no waqf in conflict with the laws of inheritance. However, the authenticity of this saying is questioned by other scholars and jurists. See Al-Zuḥaylī, supra note 13, 7600.

¹³⁸ Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl Bukhāri, supra note 34, 18-25.

This is evident by the tradition of 'Umar who approached the Prophet asking for the best use of his property and was advised to make it a unagf. See also Al-Shaykh Nizām, supra note 17, 1039 and 1043.

¹⁴⁰ Al-Zuhaylī, supra note 13, 7603.

ibn 'Abdul 'Azīz (reigned 99/717 to 101/720) intended to revoke the sadaqāt (awqāf) of the people who had excluded women. Thus the author concludes that the sadaqāt (awqāf) used to be in favour of both sons and daughters until people started to exclude daughters. 141

This problem did not go unnoticed by the later jurists who advised that preferably the waqf should be in accordance with the shares provided under Islamic law of inheritance or it should be equally in favour of sons and daughters. However, given the fact that men have more financial obligations than women whose maintenance is the duty of men under Islamic law, the exclusion of women, especially daughters, was not regarded as invalid. It was argued that the Companion of the Prophet, Zubayr ibn al-'Awam made a sadaqa (waqf) of his house in favour of his sons wherein his daughters had a right of residence until they got married and after marriage if they were divorced or became widows. Generally, jurists regard a wagf that is not in harmony with inheritance law as makrūh (reprehensible) except where some children are more needy than the others. 142 However, it appears that the pious conscience of jurists continued to feel this conflict of laws and they tried to harmonise this conflict whenever an opportunity arose. Thus while discussing the circumstances where the specified beneficiaries die out, one view is that the waaf property is to be divided amongst the legal heirs of the founder according to their share in accordance with the inheritance law.143 In this respect, the most interesting aspect of wagf law is the default rule, in the case where the shares of children are not determined by the founder, both sons and daughters have equal shares. This rule is derived from the tradition of the Prophet, which provides for the equal treatment of children. 144

An important example of harmonisation between the waqf law and the inheritance law is the waqf made during terminal illness. The rule under inheritance law is that one's discretion to dispose of property during terminal illness is limited to one-third of total property. In case the disposal of property exceeds this limit, the consent of heirs is required. There is no such limit for a normal healthy person who can dispose of the whole of his property as a waqf. However, a waqf made during terminal illness

Saḥnun ibn Sa'id, supra note 53, 423-424.

¹⁴² Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 205-206.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 210-213.

¹⁴⁴ Ibn 'Abidīn, supra note 21, 664-665.

and by testament cannot exceed more than one-third property of the founder. This is the unanimous position of all jurists.

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Under the Islamic law of gifts, a gift can only be made to an existing person. Thus the waqf violates this limitation as the founder donates to his progeny that is non-existent at the time of the creation of a waqf. The Hanafis and Mālikīs do not require that the beneficiaries of a waqf must exist at the time of the creation of a waqf. Thus a waqf for unborn children is valid. The Shāfi is 148 and Hanbalis regard such a waqf as invalid. The latter, however, regard a waqf for children in womb as valid. 149

About the status of the waqf in Islamic law, there can be three possibilities: one, it falls under the law of gifts; second, it falls under the law of charity; and third, it falls under the law of inheritance. The first proposition is supported by Shāfi'ī. According to him, gifts have three types: two are inter vivos and one testamentary. The inter vivos are either ordinary gifts, which require making of gift along with the transfer of possession, or they are sadaqa muḥarrama, which takes effect by mere pronouncement

Maliki jurists, though, regarded a waaf in favour of legal heirs as invalid, declared it valid if it was made in favour of grandchildren (their shares have not been determined by the Qur'an and thus this prohibition does not apply). As parents are the guardians of minors so sons and daughters (legal heirs) benefitted from the waaf property. Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Wansharisī, supra note 36, 311-320; D.S. Powers, "The Islamic Family Endowment (Waaf)", (1999) 32 Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law 1167, 1180. For an earlier version of this article, see D.S. Powers, "The Maliki Family Endowment: Legal Norms and Social Practices", International Journal of Middle East Studies 25 (1993) 379.

¹⁶⁶ Ibn Qudăma, supra note 17, 217-219.

¹⁴⁷ Fatāwā al-Ālamgīriyya refers to the opinion of Hilâl as an authority on this point, supra note 17, 975.

¹⁴⁸ Nawawi, supra note 21, 230.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Zuhayli, supra note 13, 7640-7643.

like freeing of a slave. In the latter case, no transfer of possession is required and the donor becomes a complete stranger and if the property is damaged by him, he would be liable for it.¹⁵⁰ The waqf or habs, according to him, falls in the latter category. The second and third propositions are supported by the categorisation of waqf in the compilations of the traditions of the Prophet. Amongst the six most authentic books on the traditions of Prophet, the waqf is covered under the chapter of Al-waṣāyā (wills) in three of them: Saḥiḥ al-Bukhāri, Saḥiḥ Muslim and Sunan Abī Dā'ūd. While Sunan Ibn Mājah includes it in Kitāb al-Ṣadaqāt (charity).¹⁵¹

There is, however, a fourth possibility of waqf being an independent branch of law within Islamic law. It might not have existed as such during the lifetime of the Prophet and early days of Islam. However, in the later periods it developed into a separate branch. This hypothesis is supported by Al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā, which distinguishes between sadaqa and waqfl habs. Al-Mughnī of Ibn Qudāma also distinguishes between the waqf and sadaqa. The latter becomes lāzim (binding) with the mere utterance of making a sadaqa unlike the former. 152 Two of the six compilations on the traditions Sunan al-Nasā'ī and Sunan al-Tirmidhī have a separate section on waqf. Sunan al-Nasā'ī has a specific chapter for waqf with the name of Kitāb al-Aḥbās and Sunan al-Tirmidhī has a section on waqf in the chapter captioned as "Kitāb al-Aḥkām' an al-Rasūl" (Injunctions from the Prophet). An important collection of traditions Subul al-Salām also has a separate chapter on the waqf.

This classification in the books of traditions of Prophet, however, does not seem an appropriate criterion for judging the status of the *waqf* within Islamic law. The classification in *Fiqh* books could have provided a better criterion. But given the parallel developments in various branches of law and the difference of subject matters dealt by each branch, it is difficult to establish a formal hierarchy. However, even if the *waqf* law could have grown into a separate branch within the Islamic legal system, it is clear that it is subservient to inheritance law to the extent that the testamentary *waqf* is limited to one-third of the founder's property in accordance with inheritance law. Secondly, the inheritance law rule, which forbids a will in favour of a legal heir does not apply to *inter vivo waqf* as it is not a will.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Al-Shāfi'ī, supra note 28, 274.

¹⁵¹ See supra note 34.

¹⁵² Ibn Qudāma, supra note 17, 185.

¹⁵³ Hennigan argues that by shifting the discourse of waaf from inheritance to an inter

Conclusion

The above study shows that the bulk of waaf law is derived by using legal techniques such as qiyās (analogy) and istiḥsān (juristic preference). In the later period, 'urf (custom) also became an important source for the determination of specific legal problems. Thus we find a legal maxim in juristic treatises, thābit bi al-'urf ka al-thābit bi al-sharṭ (what is established by virtue of custom is like what is established by virtue of an agreed condition). Custom was also incorporated into law under the principle of istiḥsān (juristic preference) and principle of maṣlaḥa and darūra (public good and necessity). 154 Evidence from court cases suggests that disputes were decided according to 'urf (custom) where Sharī'a provided no specific injunction. 155

Despite the voluminous treatment of waqf in the Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya, which comprises fourteen chapters and several subsections, it is clear that this is not a complete and exhaustive exposition of waqf law. Historical accounts on the administration of justice in the Muslim world inform us about the existence of imperial decrees (fermān or qānūn), which regulated the mundane affairs of state. 156 The Ijāratayn Law was enacted in the Ottoman Empire after the year 1610 AD (1020 AH) which was compiled "as far as possible, according to the principles of Sheri". Later on the "customs and usages were, after being sanctioned by Imperial Irades, recorded in the books of the Courts and the Government offices". 157 An Ottoman Imperial decree prohibiting the qāḍī to validate and register as waqf the property of a debtor is also found in historical records. This decree was issued by the Ottoman Sulṭān Sūlaymān the Magnificent (reigned 926-974/1520-1566). 158

vivos charitable gift, jurists trumped the criticism that the waqf violates inheritance law. Hennigan, supra note 1, 94.

¹⁵⁴ G. Libson and E.H. Stewart, "'Urf", Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn. (2011) http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-1298 (accessed 10 May 2011).

¹⁵⁵ N. Hanna, Making Big Money in 1600 (Cairo: The American University of Cairo, 1998) xxi.

¹⁵⁶ A.A.A. Fyzee, "Muhammadan Law in India", (1963) 5 Comparative Studies in Society and History 401, 404.

¹⁵⁷ These statements are taken from the introduction of Omer Hilmi Effendi's book, which he claims to have written as a result of his service in the offices of the Sheykh-ul-Islam, and after obtaining practice in the affairs of Evqaf during a period of nearly twelve years when he acted as the Secretary and Inspector of the Court of Teftish, and also as the Sheri' officer for Public Titles. O.H. Effendi, A Gift to Posterity on the Laws of Evqaf transalated by C.R. Tyter and D.G. Demetriades (Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1922) B.

¹⁵⁸ Imber, *supra* note 1, 142.

It is interesting to note that both the customary laws and imperial decrees are missing from the legal treatises discussed in this article. These treatises mention that the customary practices should be taken into account in certain circumstances, e.g., for the interpretation of the clauses of the waaf deed. They also refer to the powers of rulers regarding certain waaf related matters. However, there is no mention of imperial decrees even in the Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya, the compendium compiled by the order of the Emperor. This fact is intriguing and raises questions about the extent to which the law in Figh books reflected the actual practice. This also raises questions about the role of Islamic law contained in Figh books in the governance of state and society in conjunction with other governance mechanisms within the prevailing legal system.

Apart from discovering the incompleteness of waaf law contained in the Figh texts, this article has also identified inconsistency in the legal theory of waaf. Throughout their works, Muslim jurists seem to have been struggling with the issue of the ownership of waaf property and its relationship with the stakeholders of the waaf. The resolution of this issue was crucial in order to empower each stakeholder to have his say in the operation of the waaf according to his share. The majority of jurists hold that the waaf property is transferred to God, yet the waaf dissolves with the apostasy of the male founder. Moreover, in case the founder becomes destitute, he can approach the court for the cancellation of his waqf. This rule seems reasonable as there is no point to operating a charitable institution in favour of others when the original owner or the founder becomes more deserving. However, the qāḍi is also required to appoint a mutawalli from amongst the family members of the founder and in case the waaf property becomes useless for the stated objectives, according to some jurists it reverts to the founder and his legal heirs. The stipulations of the founder are also required to be strictly followed as if he continues to own waaf property even after death. This lack of clear determination of the ownership of waaf property caused many legal and economic problems, which became manifest with the passage of time especially when Islamic law confronted civil and English law during colonisation.

The third finding relates to the status of the waaf in Islamic law. Unlike the law of inheritance, the waaf law developed gradually and in certain cases it came into conflict with other branches of Islamic law. It was also abused to deprive women of their share in inheritance. At the same time, waaf law provided equality of treatment for both sons and daughters as a default rule, unlike the inheritance law, which provides sons with double the share of daughters. Jurists were cognizant of this conflict, and tried to harmonise both branches whenever an opportunity arose.